A DECLARATION OF THE COMMONS OF *ENGLAND*

In PARLIAMENT aſſembled;

EXPRESSING

Their Reaſons and Grounds of paſſing the late Reſolutions touching

No farther Addreſs or Application to be made

TO THE

KING.

Die Veneris, 11. Februarii, 1647.

ORdered by the Commons aſſembled in Parliament, That this Declaration be forthwith printed and publiſhed:

H. Elſynge, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

London, Printed for *Edw. Husband*, Printer to the Honourable Houſe of Commons, *Feb.* 15. 1647.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion by the Lords and Commons in Parliament aſſembled.

THat they do Declare, That they will make no further Addreſſes or Application to the King.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion by the Lords and Commons.

THat no Application or Addreſſes be made to the King by any Perſon whatſoever, without the Leave of both Houſes.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion by the Lords and Commons.

THat the Perſon or Perſons that ſhall make Breach of this Order, ſhall incur the Penalties of High-Treaſon.

Reſolved upon the Queſtion by the Lords and Commons.

THat they do Declare, That they will receive no more any Meſſage *from the King; and do Enjoin, That no Perſon whatſoever do preſume to receive or bring any* Meſſage *from the King to both, or either of the Houſes of Parliament, or to any other Perſon.*

HOW fruitleſs our former Addreſſes, have been, to the King, is ſo well known to the World, that it may be expected we ſhould now Declare, Why we made the laſt, or ſo many before, rather than why we are reſolv'd to make no more.

We cannot acknowledge any great Confidence that our Words could have been more perſwaſive with Him, than Sighs and Groans, the Tears and crying Blood (an heavy Cry!) the Blood of Fathers, Brothers and Children at once, the Blood of many Hundred thouſand Freeborn Subjects in Three great Kingdoms, which Cruelty it ſelf could not but pity to deſtroy.

We muſt not be ſo unthankful to God, as to forget we never were forced to any Treaty; and yet we have no leſs than Seven Times made ſuch Applications to the King, and tendred ſuch Propoſitions, that might occaſion the World to judge, We have not only yielded up our Wills and Affections, but our Reaſon alſo and Judgment, for obtaining any true Peace or good Accomodation.

But it never yet pleaſed the King to accept of any Tender fit for us to make, nor yet to offer any fit for us to receive.

It is very well known, That the Propoſitions ſent to the King at *Oxford*, and

Treated

Treated on at *Uxbridge*, were agreed by the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, not only as Juſt, but Neceſſary alſo for the very Being of theſe Kingdoms in a ſettled Peace and Safety.

And although the King's perſiſting in his wonted Ways and Denials, might have cauſed us to improve the Advantage of that great Succeſs (which it pleaſed God to afford us) Yet when His Armies were all broken, ſo that in Diſguiſe He fled from *Oxford* to the *Scots* at *Newark*, and from thence went to *Newcaſtle*; and that *Oxford*, and almoſt all His Gariſons were taken, We tendred at *Newcaſtle* Propoſitions, the ſame in Effect which had been preſented before in the Midſt of all His Strength and Forces.

And notwithſtanding this Change of His Condition, and Denial of thoſe Propoſitions, after He was left to the Commiſſioners of Parliament, and our Brethren of *Scotland* quietly departed home; after all His Gariſons taken, and no Viſible Force in the whole Kingdom appearing for Him, the King being at the ſole Diſpoſe of the Parliament without Diſpute; yet even then the ſame Propoſitions were again preſented to Him at *Hampton-Court*.

In all which Addreſſes the Commiſſioners of *Scotland* agreed with us, and join'd with our Commiſſioners in attending the King.

The

The King not granting our Propoſitions, but ſtill giving ſuch ſtrange, unexpected and conditional Anſwers or Denials, as might juſtly have made us conſider ſome other Courſe for ſettling the Kingdom in Peace and Safety, without any further Application; which was alſo ſo far agreed by our Brethren of *Scotland* (at their leaving *Newcaſtle*) that their Commiſſioners Declared, in Caſe the King conſented not to the Propoſitions, yet they would maintain the Treaties and Union made between the Kingdoms.

But ſo deſirous were we of His Concurrence in the Settlement of the Kingdom's Peace, that we yet again reſolved upon another Addreſs; and did ſo qualifie the ſaid Propoſitions, that, where it might ſtand with the Publick Safety, His wonted Scruples and Objections were prevented or removed.

And although we could not forget how dangerous and void of Succeſs our former Treaties had been, and that a Perſonal Treaty had been Declared by both Houſes and the Commiſſioners of *Scotland* to be unſafe, without Security and Satisfaction firſt given; yet we alſo yielded to that, on Condition the King would ſign but Four Bills, which we judged not only Juſt and Honourable, but Neceſſary even for preſent Peace and Safety during ſuch a Treaty.

We

We have Cauſe enough to remember; That He ſometimes deny'd to receive our humble Petition for Peace; and when we deſired Him to appoint ſome Place for a Committee of both Houſes to attend Him with Propoſitions for Peace, He named *Windſor*; promiſing to abide thereabouts till they came unto Him: But preſently marched forward (that very Night) ſo near *London*, that He had almoſt ſurpriz'd it, while He had ſo engaged Himſelf for a Treaty, had not ſome few of our Foot at *Brainford*, with invincible Courage, expoſed themſelves to apparent Death, 'Till His Army was forced to retire in Fear and Shame, with the Guilt of moſt Inhuman and Barbarous Cruelties committed at *Brainford*, to aſſure *London* what it muſt have expected, had not God prevented thoſe Bloody Deſigns.

And we well remember, That the King once ſent us a ſpecious Meſſage of renewing a Treaty, when at the ſame Time His Meſſenger was inſtructed how to manage that Bloody Maſſacre in *London*, which was then Deſigned by Vertue of the King's Commiſſion, ſince publiſhed.

And about the Time of the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, He excuſed Himſelf to the Queen by a Letter under His own Hand, as forced to that Treaty by the Mutinous Motions of His Mungrel Parliament at *Oxford*; and that He could not find any two of His Mind, elſe He would not have acknowledged

knowledged us for the Parliament of *England*; which yet He did with a Proteſtation, entred into the Council-Books, That His calling us ſo, did not make us a Parliament.

All which was but ſmall Encouragments, again to make our ſelves His Sport or Scorn by any other Treaty; yet we now yielded to this alſo.

But notwithſtanding this and all former Tenders, We have now receiv'd ſuch a Denial, that we are in Deſpair of any good by Addreſſes to the King, neither muſt we be ſo injurious to the People, in further delaying their Settlement, as any more to preſs his Conſent to theſe or any other Propoſitions.

Nor can we ſee why it ſhould be expected a New Engagement could prevail on Him, or oblige Him more ſtrongly to the Kingdom, than the Solemn Oath of His Coronation, and the ſeveral other Vows, Proteſtations and Imprecations ſo frequently by Him broken, during His whole Reign, and ſo often renewed before God and the whole World.

We may be the more juſtified herein by thoſe that know what paſſed between the King and our Brethren the *Scots*, when thoſe Articles were agreed and confirmed in the firſt Pacification not long before theſe Wars; which, as ſoon as their Backs were turn'd, and their Armies out of ſight, were diſavowed again by the King, and by His Command

Command publickly burnt at *London* by the Hands of the Hangman.

Which yet might have been forgotten, had not a continued Track of Breach of Truſt in the Three Kingdoms, ſince he wore the Crown, made us (though unwilling) to remember it.

We take no Pleaſure to repeat our own Miſeries, or others Miſchief, if it might be hidden or forgotten; but we are now forced to ſpeak what hath long been ſuffered in too much Silence.

Himſelf in Publick Speeches and Declarations, hath laid a fit Foundation for all Tyranny, by this moſt Deſtructive Maxim or Principle, which He ſaith he muſt avow, *That He oweth an Account of His Actions to none, but God alone; and that the Houſes of Parliament, joint or ſeparate, have no Power either to Make or Declare any Law.*

The Private Articles agreed in Order to the Match with *Spain*, and thoſe other Private Articles upon the *French* Marriage, ſo prejudicial to the Peace, Safety, Laws, Religion here eſtabliſhed, and the continued Correſpondence which hath ſince been carried on with *Rome*, are ſo evident as cannot be denied.

We cannot but call to Mind the Proceedings and Paſſages of the Parliament held in the Second Year of this King's Reign, concerning the Death of His Royal Father.

The

The Tenth of *May*, 1626. the Houſe of Commons charged the Duke of *Buckingham*, among other Things, in theſe Words; (*viz.*)

'WHereas the Sworn Phyſitians of 'our Late Sovereign Lord, King '*James* of Bleſſed Memory, attending on 'His *Majeſty* in the Month of *March*, in 'the Two and Twentieth of His moſt 'Glorious Reign, in the Time of His 'Sickneſs, being an *Ague*, Did in due and 'neceſſary Care of and for Recovery of 'His Health, and Preſervation of His 'Perſon, upon and after ſeveral mature 'Conſultations in that Behalf had, and 'holden at ſeveral Times in the ſame 'Month reſolve, and gave Directions, '*That nothing ſhould be apply'd or given un-* '*to His Highneſs, by way of Phyſick or Diet,* '*during His ſaid Sickneſs, but by and upon* '*their general Advice and Conſents*: And 'after good Deliberation thereof firſt had, 'more eſpecially by their like Care and 'upon like Conſultations, Did juſtly re-'ſolve and publickly give Warning, to 'and for all the Gentlemen and other Ser-'vants and Officers of His ſaid late *Maje-'ſty's* Bed-chamber, *That no Meat or Drink* '*whatſoever ſhould be given unto Him with-*

'*in*

‘ *in two or three Hours next before the uſual*
‘ *Time of, and for the Coming of His Fit in*
‘ *the ſaid Ague, nor during the Continu-*
‘ *ance thereof, nor afterwards until His cold*
‘ *Fit were paſt.* The ſaid Duke of *Buck-*
‘ *ingham* being a Sworn Servant of His
‘ late *Majeſty*, of and in His *Majeſty*'s ſaid
‘ Bed-chamber, contrary to his Duty, and
‘ tender Reſpect which he ought to have
‘ had of His *Majeſty*'s moſt Sacred Perſon;
‘ and after the Conſultations, Reſolutions,
‘ Direction and Warning aforeſaid, Did
‘ nevertheleſs, without any ſufficient
‘ Warrant in that Behalf, unduly cauſe
‘ and procure certain Plaiſters, and a
‘ certain Drink or Potion to be provided
‘ for the Uſe of His ſaid *Majeſty*, without
‘ the Direction or Privity of His ſaid late
‘ *Majeſty*'s Phyſicians, not prepared by
‘ any of His *Majeſty*'s Sworn *Apothecaries*
‘ or *Chyrurgeons*, but compounded of ſeve-
‘ ral Ingredients to them unknown; Not-
‘ withſtanding the ſame Plaiſter, or ſome
‘ Plaiſter like thereunto having been for-
‘ merly adminiſtred unto His ſaid *Maje-*
‘ *ſty*, did procure ſuch ill Effects, as that
‘ ſome of the ſaid Sworn Phyſicians did
‘ altogether diſallow thereof, and utterly
‘ refuſed to meddle any further with His
‘ ſaid *Majeſty* until thoſe Plaiſters were

‘ re-

‘ removed, as being prejudicial to the
‘ Health of His *Majeſty*. Yet neverthe-
‘ leſs, the ſame Plaiſter, as alſo a Drink
‘ or Potion, was provided by him the ſaid
‘ *Duke*, which he the ſaid *Duke*, by Co-
‘ lour of ſome inſufficient and ſlight Pre-
‘ tences, did upon *Monday* the One and
‘ Twentieth Day of *March*, in the Two
‘ and Twentieth Year aforeſaid, when
‘ His Majeſty (by the Judgment of His
‘ ſaid Phyſicians) was in the Declination
‘ of His *Diſeaſe*, cauſe and procure the
‘ ſaid Plaiſter to be apply'd to the Breaſt
‘ and Wriſts of His ſaid late *Majeſty*;
‘ and then alſo, at and in His *Majeſty*'s
‘ Fit of His ſaid *Ague* the ſame *Monday*,
‘ and at ſeveral Times, within two Hours
‘ before the coming of the ſame Fit, and
‘ before His *Majeſty*'s then cold Fit was
‘ paſſed, did deliver and cauſe to be de-
‘ livered, ſeveral Quantities of the ſaid
‘ Drink or Potion to His late *Majeſty*;
‘ who thereupon, at the ſame Times,
‘ within the Seaſons in that Behalf pro-
‘ hibited by His *Majeſty*'s Phyſicians as
‘ aforeſaid, did by the Means and Pro-
‘ curement of the ſaid *Duke*, drink, and
‘ take divers Quantities of the ſaid Drink
‘ or Potion, applied and given unto, and
‘ taken or receiv'd by His ſaid Majeſty

‘ as

'as aforeſaid, *Great Diſtempers, and Di-*
'*vers ill Symptoms appeared upon his ſaid*
'*Majeſty*; inſomuch that the ſaid Phyſi-
'cians finding His *Majeſty* the next Morn-
'ing much worſe in the Eſtate of His
'Health, and holding a Conſultation
'thereabout, did by joint Conſent ſend
'unto the ſaid *Duke*, praying him not to
'miniſter to His *Majeſty* any more Phy-
'ſick without their Allowance and Ap-
'probation; and His ſaid Majeſty him-
'ſelf, finding himſelf much diſeaſed and
'afflicted with Pain and Sickneſs after his
'then Fit, when by the Courſe of his *Diſ-*
'*eaſe* he expected Intermiſſion and Eaſe,
'did attribute the Cauſe of ſuch his
'Trouble unto the ſaid Plaiſter and Drink
'which the ſaid *Duke* had ſo given, and
'cauſed to be adminiſtred unto him;
'which ſaid adventurous Act, by a Per-
'ſon oblig'd in Duty and Thankfulneſs
'done to the Perſon of ſo Great a *King*,
'after ſo ill Succeſs of the like formerly
'adminiſtred, contrary to ſuch Directi-
'ons as aforeſaid, and accompanied with
'ſo unhappy an Event, to the great Grief
'and Diſcomfort of all his Majeſty's Sub-
'jects in general, is an *Offence* and *Miſde-*
'*meanor* of ſo high a Nature, as may juſtly
'be call'd, and is by the ſaid *Commons*

'deemed

'deem'd to be, *An Act of Tranſcendent* '*Preſumption, and of Dangerous Conſe-* '*quence.*

And delivered it at a Conference to the Lords.

After which, the King came into the Lords Houſe, and took notice of that Charge, and told them, he could be a Witneſs to cleat him in every one of them; unto which Charge, no Anſwer came in until the Eighth of *June* following, and the Tenth Day after, it was ordered by the Houſe of Peers, to be communicated to the Houſe of Commons: But while the Houſe was preparing to ſend up their Proofs, upon which they declared, That they doubted not but to have Judgment againſt the ſaid Duke; the King expreſſed a ſuddain purpoſe to diſſolve the Parliament, and although the Houſe of Peers petitioned for its continuance, expreſſing their great and univerſal Sorrow for his Intentions to diſſolve it, yet, notwithſtanding all this, the ſaid Parliament was diſſolved the fifteenth Day of the ſame *June*.

At the ſame time, alſo during the Parliament, Sir *Dudley Diggs* and Sir *John Elliot*, who ſpecially managed that Conference and Examinations, were committed cloſe Priſoners to the *Tower* within two days after the ſaid Charge, by Warrant under the Kings own hand.

And Meſſages and Interruptions were conſtantly ſent from the King to the Houſes while they had the ſaid Charge in Agitation; and the Parliament being diſſolved before Juſtice could be done, there never was any legal Enquiry made at any iime ſince, concerning the Death of the ſaid King.

We leave the World now to judge where the guilt of this remains.

We can fully ſhew how *Rochel* was by him betrayed, and thereby a fatl Blow given to the Proteſtant Cauſe in *France*: How alſo he lent divers of the Navy Royal, and other Merchant Ships to the French King, to be employed againſt thoſe whom he was engaged to have aſſiſted. And when ſome of the Commanders and others in thoſe Ships, were ſo much Engliſh as to diſpute thoſe Orders; we can ſhew the King's Letter under his own Hand to Captain *Penington*, to put them into the Service of the French King, or to ſink them in caſe of refuſal.

We cannot forget the deſigns to enſlave us by the German Horſe (that we ſay nothing of the late Spaniſh Fleet, with a great Army therein, brought into the *Downs* 1639) and to grinde us by enforced Loans, Privy Seals, Coat and Conduct Myney, enlarging of Foreſts, incloſing of Commons, ingroſſing of Gun-powder, with innumerable Patents and Monopolies of Malt, Salt, Sea-cole, Soap, Leather, Wine, Sugar, Allom, Farthings, Pins, Tobacco, and almoſt all things elſe; together with that one *Compendium* of all

all Oppreſſion and Slavery, called *Ship-Money*.

The Torture of our Bodies, by moſt cruel Whippings, ſlitting of Noſes, cutting off Ears, branding of Cheeks, Racks and Pillories, with cloſe Impriſonment at pleaſure, might be the ſooner forgotten, had not our Souls been alſo lorded over, led captive into Superſtition and Idolatry, triumphed on by Oaths *ex Officio*, Excommunications, Ceremonious Articles, new Canons, Canon-Oaths, *&c.*

One thing more was found, to make us worſe than Slaves, in that we might not hope for Liberty: The very name of Parliament became ſo odious at the Court, that if in twelve years time there was ſo much as one ſummoned, it ſerved but to ſhew the lawleſs Power of thoſe that could not be content only to diſſolve it at pleaſure, but we muſt be forbidden by Proclamation to ſpeak or hope for another Parliament: And at ſuch Diſſolutions, there was no Priviledge ſtrong enough to ſecure the Cloſets, Cabinets, Pockets and Perſons of thoſe, that in Duty and Conſcience did but vote or act as Men above meer ſlaves: This was fault enough for cloſe Impriſonment and Death; for that hath alſo followed.

Nor was it enough thus to enſlave one Kingdom, but the ſame Projectors who had ſo enthralled *England*, muſt contrive alſo to reduce *Ireland*, and conform *Scotland*, that ſo the mingling of Neighbour tears, might by Sympathy increaſe each others Woe.

Scotland was to be the first Scene, where a new Liturgie, with new Canons, are to make the Prologue to the following Act.

This not succeeding as was hoped, an Army must be raised to force Compliance; but by the Mediation of the English Lords, a Pacification is concluded; and it held till the King's return to Court made him forget and disavow it: but the burnt Articles left Ashes enough to beget a new flame.

There wanted but a form of Law to make all just: For this and for supply, not for advice, a Parliament is ventured on; yet with proviso, that it should not hurt, although it would not help; and not complying (as was hoped to assist that War against the Scots) was crime enough to merit Dissolution with a false and scandalous Declaration in the King's Name.

The Parliament being dissolved, the King took from his Subjects by Power, what he could not otherwise obtain.

We need not tell the World how in the midst of all our Miseries the Scots (our Brethren) entered with a powerful Army, marching on as Friends, till they were forced to make their passage over *Tine*.

It was then thought necessary by the King to summon this present Parliament; in which we did proceed with ease so long as there was but any hope, we would comply with him against the Scots, and give assistance to that War.

But he quickly found it vain to hope to be ſupplied by us againſt the Scots; And when we began to conſider how we came to be again involved in a new War (notwithſtanding the late Pacification) we ſaw it impoſſible to quaſh thoſe pernitious Counſels at the preſent, or to prevent them for the future, without queſtioning their Authors: At this the King diſcovered himſelf ſo ſtrongly, and paſſionately affected to ſuch malignant Councillors and their Counſels, that he would ſooner deſert or force this Parliament and Kingdom, than alter his courſe, and deliver up his wicked Councillors to Law and Juſtice.

By this time the Queen's Pious Deſign (as they termed it) to advance Popery was almoſt ready for the Birth, being helped much by a Popiſh Faſt, enjoyned Weekly by the Pope's Nuncio, and by Letters from Secretary *Windebanck*, who durſt not abide Examination, but after he was queſtioned by the Houſe of Commons, got a Paſs from the King to go beyond Sea.

What was done abroad will hereafter appear, although the King made light of all our Intelligence from Foreign Parts; yet he could not ſo well avoid or deny the Commiſſions given at Court to Popiſh Agents for private Levies, or that the Papiſts began to riſe and arm themſelves in the North-weſt of *England* and *Wales*, till they were ſuppreſſed, or that there were Regiments raiſing and liſting in *London* and parts adjoyning, un-

der pretence of Soldiers for *Portugal*; or that ſome of theſe came to ſeize and poſſeſs themſelves of the *Tower*, and the Lieutenant threatned for refuſing them; all which he knew might be ſufficiently proved.

To the like pious deſign we may refer the great Cabal for bringing up the Northern Army to over-awe the Parliament, which the King did ſo often and ſolemnly diſavow, *as nothing but looſe Diſcourſes of a modeſt Petition, which alſo vaniſht two or three Months (he ſaith) before we knew it.*

But he now knoweth we can prove the chief part of that Cabal came from himſelf to the main Actors, and that ſome of them did diſſwade him from his way, becauſe it was ſo ſharp and high, exceeding the limits of Honour and Law: And yet their Propoſitions which were the lower way, were much above the ſize of Petitions, as they are already publiſhed in their own Confeſſions. And it is very ſtrange, Mr. *Percy*, Sir *John Suckling*, and Mr. *Germin* (ſent away by the King's ſpecial warrant) ſhould flee beyond Sea only upon diſcovery of a modeſt Petition.

But notwithſtanding any diſſwaſions, yet the King perſiſted in his way; ſo that after this, there was appointed a Meeting of Officers at *Burrough-bridge*, and Propoſitions made, with private Inſtructions brought from the King, by ſome that told them they were unwiſe to ſhew their Teeth, except they would bite; and that the King would

pawn

pawn his Jewels for them, would they be faithful to him; and if they marched forward, they ſhould be met by the Prince and the Earl of *Newcaſtle* with a good Body of Horſe; and that the French alſo would be ready to aſſiſt them.

This was in *April*, and we had notice of this in the beginning of *May*, when alſo there was a deſign for ſome French to have ſeized on *Portſmouth*, whither the Queen was then going: but the Ports were better ſecured by a ſpecial Committee.

So far was it alſo from vaniſhing divers Months before our notice, that ſome of thoſe Cabaliſts, after Examination by us, were again attempted by the King, and ſome of them ſent again to the Army with new Inſtructions and Directions ſigned by the King himſelf, as moſt clearly appeareth by comparing the Journals of *May* 1641, with the Months following; together with the time ſpecified in the confeſſions of Sir *Jacob Aſtley*, Sir *John Conyers*, Colonel *Legg* and others already publiſhed.

And when there was yet demur among the chief Officers, there went another Agent from Court to quicken them, and treat of ſome Directions ſigned by the King: But he was to go farther, the Scots Army being then at *Newcaſtle*

What offers were made to them of the plunder of *London*, if they would advance, or of four Northern Counties, with three hundred thouſand Pounds or Jewels of great value,

value, but to ſtand Neuters in that deſign, is already declared by ſome who may better know the Propoſitions made by *O Neal* (who brake Priſon here) Sir *John Henderſon* and others with Letters of Credence from the King: After that he was ſo reſolute to go into *Scotland*, that he could not be perſwaded by our Petitions to defer that Journey; and though in the year 1641, he was not pleaſed to leave ſuch a Commiſſion as the Parliament deſired of him, yet was he pleaſed before, in the year 1639, to intruſt Secretary *Windebank*, a known favourer of Papiſts, with blank Sheets, both of Parchment and Paper, ſigned with his ſign Manual, which were employed by him for diſpoſing great Commands by Land and Sea.

It is well known what Letters the King ſent into *Ireland* by the Lord *Dillon* immediately before the Rebellion, and where the Great Seal of *Scotland* was, and in whoſe hands when that Commiſſion was ſealed at *Edenburgh* to the Iriſh Rebels, who diſperſed Copies thereof in *Ireland*, with Letters or Proclamations; and we have a Copy thereof atteſted by Oath, with Depoſitions alſo of thoſe who have ſeen it under the Seal.

Which Commiſſion was promiſed (as ſome of the chiefeſt Rebels confeſſed) to the Iriſh Committee at *London*, for the moſt part Papiſts (which was thought a good Omen) and ſince moſt active Rebels, upon whoſe private Mediation, the King gave away more than Five Counties, ſaying, *That he expected*

they

they ſhould recompence him ſome other way; and that he would willingly grant all their Deſires, but he was oppreſſed by the Parliament in England, *of whom he wiſhed that he could be revenged.*

It hath formerly been declared, how we deſired and preſſed the King to disband that Iriſh Popiſh Army, which (as was cleared at the Earl of *Strafford's* Tryal) was raiſed to reduce the Kingdoms; But ſometimes he would give no Anſwer at all, and ſometimes did plainly tell us, He could not disband it for Reaſons beſt known to himſelf; Sometimes the *Scots* muſt firſt disband; and then there was a new Pretence of divers Regiments promiſed to *Spain*, for which the King was Engaged, and could not go back.

Which we now wonder not at, for by the Confeſſion of *Mac Carte* and *Macquire*, with others, it is clear, that this pretence of Men for the King of *Spain's* Service, was but a Colour to keep ſome in Arms for a Foundation of that Rebellion; and that ſome of the Committee coming from *London*, contrived this Plot for Defence of the King, who was then (they ſaid) ſo much injured in *England* and *Scotland*.

And the firſt Clauſe of that Oath enjoyned by a General Council of Rebels, was, To bear true Faith and Allegiance to King *Charles*, and by all means to maintain his Royal Prerogative againſt the *Puritans* in the Parliament of *England*.

And

And although we Declared to the King, That they ſtyled themſelves the King's or Queen's Army, yet we could not obtain a Proclamation againſt them in divers Months, and then alſo but Forty Copies might be *Printed*, and expreſs Order given, That none ſhould be publiſhed till his further directions, as appeareth under his own Secretary's hand.

Which might very well ſtand with the Letters from Court to the Lord *Muskery* (a great Rebel in *Munſter*) who was aſſured, his Majeſty was well pleaſed with what he did, and would in Time give Thanks for it, although for the preſent it did not then ſtand with the Convenience of the King's Affairs, to give him publick Countenance; and this was afterwards made good by the King, who, in one of the Letters taken at *Naſeby*, commandeth the Earl of *Ormond* to give particular Thanks to the ſaid *Muskery* and *Plunkett*.

We may yet remember how the Earl of *Leiceſter* was delayed and detained by the King (beyond all pretence) from going againſt the Rebels.

How alſo the King refuſed a Commiſſion (often asked by both Houſes) for the Lord *Brooke* and Lord *Wharton*, when at ſeveral times there were large proviſions made for Relief of *Munſter*, and other parts ſo much diſtreſſed, that *Limerick* was wholly loſt.

But when the Rebels wanted Commanders at their very beginning, we have long ſince named

named divers *Papiſts* and Perſons of Quality that by the King's ſpecial Warrants after the Ports were ſhut by both Houſes of Parliament, paſſed hence, and headed the ſaid Rebels.

And we likewiſe named Commanders and Officers, whom the King called off from their Truſt againſt the Rebels, and Ships from their Guards at Sea, that ſo the Rebels might be ſupplyed with Foreign Aids, beſides all the Arms and Ammunition they had from the King's Magazines there, and from hence alſo, by the Earl of *Antrim*, Lord *Aboin* and others from the Queen, altho' the Council of *Ireland* deſiring ſome peices of Battery from hence for the poor Proteſtants there, could not obtain them from the King: But ſome of our Ships ſent to relieve them, were ſeized by his Men of War (as the Cloaths and other proviſions by Land) and ſold or exchanged for Arms and Ammunition for the King: and the Rebels gave Letters of Mart for taking the Parliaments Ships, but freed the Kings as their very good friends.

Let the World now judge, how much Reaſon we had to believe the Rebels, when they did ſo often ſwear they did nothing without good Authority and Commiſſion from the King; ſo that Sir *Phelim O Neal* would not be perſwaded, General *Leſley* had any Authority from the King againſt the Rebels.

Divers

Divers Months alſo before it began ; There was information given upon Oath, to the Arch-Biſhop and others of the King's Council, That there was a great deſign among the *Papiſts* for a General Maſſacre of all the Proteſtants in *Ireland* and *England* alſo, and that a great Royal Perſon had a hand in it, but it was to be managed, by direction of the *Pope*.

And beſides the King's Letters to the *Pope*, when he was in *Spain*, and others long ſince his Return, on the behalf of the Duke of *Lorraign* (which muſt be requited by the ſaid Duke with a Forraign Army to invade *England* upon the King's Deſign.) It is clear, that ſome Months before the *Iriſh* Rebellion, the King had an Agent in *Rome*, as by divers of his own Secretaries Papers appeareth.

And that the ſame deſigns were laid for *England* alſo at the ſame time, if, we might not believe the Confeſſion of the Queen's Mother's Servants, (atteſted upon Oath) that there were many Thouſands appointed to cut the Proteſtants Throats in this Kingdom alſo, when the King went to *Scotland* : yet we may remember, it was confeſſed by ſome of the principal Rebels, that their *Popiſh* Committee here with the King, had communicated that deſign to many *Papiſts* in *England*, by whoſe advice, though ſome things were altered, yet it was generally concluded that about the ſame time there ſhould be the like proceedings of the *Papiſts* here ;

here; inſomuch that when *Charle-Mount* was ſeized in *Ireland*, Sir *Phelim O Neal* and other great Rebels did with much confidence affirm the Tower was alſo ſeized at *London*, and the Arch-Biſhop releaſed by their party here, where they ſaid, there was as much blood running as in *Ireland*.

And it is very well known, that upon the King's Return from *Scotland*, beſides the unuſual preparations of Ammunition and Arms, with new Guards within and about *Whitehall*: and beſides the great quantity of Fire-works found and taken in *Papiſts* houſes, the Tower was alſo filled with new Guards, many Cannoneers, Granadoes, and all ſorts of Fire-works, Morters, with great pieces of Battery, ready prepared and mounted againſt the City. Sir *William Balfour*, (who was formerly threatned) for refuſing the new Guards while the Earl of *Strafford* lived, was now diſplaced, and ſuch Officers placed by the King, as were not only ſuſpected by us, but the whole City, (who durſt not abide in their own houſes) as by their ſeveral Petitions is manifeſt.

From this time the track of open force againſt this Parliament and Kingdom did appear more viſible.

The charge of Treaſon againſt ſome of both Houſes, and that unparellel'd Act of violence by the Kings coming ſo attended to the Houſe of Commons, (after he had diſcharged our Guards, denying us any, but what might reſtrain or overawe us) was but

the

the Prologue to a bloody Tragedy, had not the Parliament, and good Affections of the City interrupted that deſign, and cauſed the King's new Guards (already liſted and moulded under Colonels and other Officers) to withdraw a little to another ſervice.

Neither would the Country more comply with their deſigns, although they were attempted with unuſual Arguments, and armed Troops in warlike manner to compel them; which ſucceeded yet ſo ill, that the Lord *Digby* durſt not abide the Tryal, but was ſent away upon a ſpecial Errand by the King's own Warrant.

What his Errand was beyond Sea, we may well conclude from the Liſt of Arms and Ammunition (for which we can produce the *King's* own Hand) taken amongſt his Papers, and printed with his Letters to the Queen, at her firſt landing in *Holland*.

What advice he gave for the *King*'s retiring to ſome ſafe place, and declare himſelf; and how the *King* followed it, it is known well enough.

But, before the *King*'s ſettling at *York*, the notice we had of his Commiſſions to the Earl of *Newcaſtle*, and Colonel *Legg*, for attempting *Newcaſtle* and *Hull*, may juſtly occaſion us to provide for their Security, eſpecially when we had certain intelligence from the Low-Countrys of Foreign Forces from *Denmark*, to come in about *Hull*, whether alſo came with the Lord *Digby*, divers Commanders, with much Ammunition and Arms from other Foreign Parts. And

And had not the *Swedes* at that Time invaded part of the King of *Denmark*'s Dominions, we had Reaſon enough to expect a Storm that way, to have fallen alſo on *Hull*, where was then a great Magazine; and before we ever asked the King to remove it, we repreſented to him, that beſides all other Intelligence of former Negotiations; We had good Notice of a Fleet preparing in *Denmark*, and that one of the Lord *Digby*'s Servants had ſolicited a Mariner (or Pilot) to conduct it into *Hull*.

And before that Time, the King had diſpatched an Agent into *Denmark*, with Letters of Credit, complaining againſt the Parliament as unjuſtly fixed on the deſtruction of one Man, (the Earl of *Strafford*, then living) but he was reſolved to take another courſe, and therefore deſired aid.

And there came ſuch an anſwer, that among the large offers made to the Scots before the King's going into *Scotland*, They were told, the King was aſſured of Horſes and Money from *Denmark*. And by an intercepted Letter from the *Hague* to Secretary *Nicholas*, long ſince publiſhed, we found, that (beſides many Arms and Cannon then provided in *Holland*.) There were alſo coming from *Denmark*, Ships with Ten thouſand Arms for Foot, and Fifteen hundred Horſe for the King's uſe, And that *Cockran* very handſomly evaded, that which was like to have fruſtrated all their Expectations from thence.

And

And in *Cockran*'s latter Inſtructions (for there had been others before into *Denmark*) long ſince printed; The King ſaith, We were then beginning to make Head againſt him, and were then Levying Forces, And therefore he preſſeth for Men, Money, Arms and Ships from *Denmark*, for which alſo he uſeth many Arguments, and among others one in theſe Words;

That in purſuance of their great Deſign of Extirpating the Royal Blood and Monarchy of England, *they have endeavoured likewiſe to lay a great blemiſh upon his Royal Family, endeavouring to Illegitimate all derived from his Siſter, at once to cut off the Intereſt and Pretentions of the whole Race; which their moſt deteſtable and ſcandalous Deſign they have purſued, examining Witneſſes, and conferring Circumſtances and Times to colour their Pretentions in ſo great a fault; and which, as His ſacred Majeſty of* England *in the true ſenſe of Honour of His Mother doth abhor, and will puniſh; ſo he expects his concurrence in vindicating a Siſter of ſo happy Memory, and by whom ſo near an Union and continued League of Amity hath been produced between the Families and Kingdoms.*

A moſt falſe, ſcandalous Charge of that which never entred into our Thoughts, ſo that we believe there never was a more unworthy Act done by any Prince, ſo to betray His Truſt and People to a Foreign Nation, by incenſing them with ſuch an odious ſlander to the ſhame of his own Mother.

Which we repeat the rather, becauſe when we declared our Intelligence, that *Cockran* was ſent into *Denmark* to procure Forces thence, *The King diſavowed it, calling it a vile Scandal, in his Anſwer to our Declaration of the* 22d *of* October. 1642.

In the ſame Inſtructions to *Cockran*, He declareth alſo that He then expected Aſſiſtance from all his Neighbour Princes and Allies, in particular the greateſt part of the States Fleet from *Holland*, whither he confeſſed he had then ſent the Queen.

He might alſo have added, that with the Queen, contrary to his Truſt, he had ſent the ancient Jewels of the Crown of *England* (of a very vaſt Value) to be pawn'd or ſold for Ammunition and Arms, of which we had certain Knowledge before we took up Arms.

Neither had we ſo much as once asked the ſettling of the Militia, 'till the Queen was going into *Holland*.

And it may be remember'd, that many Months before the Voyage to *Holland*, She was going beyond Sea, had not our Motions to the King ſtay'd her (And that among other Reaſons given) becauſe we then alſo heard, ſhe had packed up the Crown Jewells and Plate, by which we might ſee what was then alſo intended by that journey, had we not prevented it till the Winter.

But at *Burrough-Briggs* (before the Earl of *Strafford*'s Death) the Officers were told, the King would pawn his Jewels for them, and the *French* were promiſed to aſſiſt them.

All this and much more yet to be ſaid, maketh us ſtand amazed at the King's Solemn Proteſtations, ſo often made, Calling God to witneſs and revenge it alſo, if he had any thought of bringing up the Northern Army, or of Levying Forces to wage War with his Parliament, or to invade the Rights of his Subjects, or of bringing in Foreign Forces or Aids from beyond Sea which (as himſelf ſaith) in His Declarations, would not only bury this Kingdom in ſuddein Deſtruction and ruin, but His own Name and Poſterity in perpetual Scorn and Infamy.

Yet at very firſt, when Himſelf and the Lords made ſuch a Proteſtation at *York* againſt

gainſt Levying Forces, He commanded his Subjects by Proclamation to reſiſt the Orders of Parliament: And had ſigned that moſt illegal Commiſſion of Array, And did privately contrive the getting out of the Stores, Ships or otherwiſe ſuch Ordnance, Powder, Shot and Ammunition, as could be poſſibly got and provided, for which we can produce a Letter of *June* 20. 1642. under his own hand, to Sir *John Heydon* Lieutenant of the Ordnance, to convey it ſecretly in Ballaſt of Ships, and required Subſcriptions for Plate, Horſes, and Arms, And had alſo raiſed ſuch Guards of Horſe and Foot about him, that by them He did not only abuſe our Committees ſent unto him, Beat our publique Officers and Meſſengers, protect notorious *Papiſts*, Traytors or Felons, ſuch as *Beckwith* and others from the *Poſſe Comitatus*, But alſo with thoſe Guards, Cannons and Arms from beyond Sea, did attempt to force *Hull* in an Hoſtile Manner, and that within few days after that ſolemn Proteſtation at *York*.

It was not long before he proclaimed us Rebels and Traytors, ſetting up his ſtandard againſt the Parliament, which never any King of *England* did before himſelf.

Nor did ever any but King *Charles* ſet up a mock-Parliament at *Oxford*, or any other place, to oppoſe and proteſt againſt the Parliament of *England* which himſelf and both Houſes had continued by Act of Parliament.

And

And when He had made thoſe pretended Members at *Oxford* to falſifie their Faith and Truſt they owed to this Kingdom, finding that by them He could not carry on His own pernicious Deſigns, He derided their Meeting in a Letter to the Queen, and called them a Mungril Parliament, whereby His own Party may perceive what Reward they muſt expect, when they have done their utmoſt to ſhipwrack their Faith and Conſcience to His Will and Tyranny; and for Calling in of Foreign Forces, beſides that which we have ſaid already, it is very well known by His own Letters taken at *Naſeby*, and the Lord *Digby*'s Cabinet, what Negotiations he hath long had in all States round about us; we have alſo remaining with us an Authentick Copy of His Commiſſion, for Calling over Ten Thouſand of the Iriſh Rebels to ſubdue this Parliament, the Diſloyal and Rebellious City of *London* (as he calleth it) and for this Purpoſe (expreſly againſt an Act of Parliament) he made a Pacification firſt, and ſince a Peace with thoſe moſt cruel bloody Rebels, on ſuch odious, ſhameful and unworthy Conditions, that Himſelf bluſhed to own or impart them to His own Lieutenant the Earl of *Ormond*, but a Private Commiſſion was made to the Lord *Herbert* (called Earl of *Glamorgan*) commanding him to manage it with all poſſible Secrecy.

And

And for letting us ſee this ſecret Commiſſion (which was taken at *Sligo*) the ſaid Lord did endure a ſpecious Confinement.

Neither do we by this Time wonder, he ſhould forget His Vows and Proteſtations, that He would never conſent (upon whatſoever Pretence) to a Toleration of the Popiſh Profeſſion, or Abolition of the Laws then in force againſt Recuſants, with moſt ſolemn Imprecations that God would ſo deal with Him and His, as he continued in ſuch Profeſſions, and inviolably kept thoſe Proteſtations, notwithſtanding about the very ſame Time, it appears by Letters under His own Hand to the Queen and Earl of *Ormond*, that He would Conſent to the taking away all Penal Laws againſt Papiſts both in *England* and *Ireland*.

And alſo we had ſufficient Notice and Proofs of moſt of theſe Things before, notwithſtanding all His Breach of Truſt with the Proteſtants in *France*, *Scotland*, *Ireland*, and this Kingdom, which (beſides all other Oppreſſions by unjuſt Prerogative) He hath ſo often endeavoured to enſlave by *German*, *Spaniſh*, *French*, *Lorrain*, *Iriſh*, *Daniſh*, and other Foreign Forces, yet ſo really, we ſought His own as well as the Kingdom's Peace and Happineſs, that after ſo many Denials we made this laſt Application ſo juſt and honourable, that we

we cannot but now Conclude, He hath wholly forgotten not only His Duty to the Kingdom, but alſo the Care and Reſpect he owes to Himſelf and His own Family.

Theſe are ſome few of the many Reaſons, why we cannot repoſe any more Truſt in Him, and have made theſe former Reſolutions, yet we ſhall uſe our utmoſt Endeavours to ſettle the preſent Government, as may beſt ſtand with the Peace and Happineſs of this Kingdom.

FINIS.